3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

to the development of increasingly competitive goals. A diachronic investigation of the question of competition in Cayuá acculturation would demand much more information than we have concerning the past, or more inferences than we have any right to make. The impression is that competition in Cayuá culture is little more marked as a goal now than aboriginally.[183] In any case, Cayuá culture is not notably competitive at the present time, in the opinion of the writer, although cooperation has lessened and individualism increased, both as means and as goal, and although commercialism has introduced the means and the practice of objectively measuring individual economic advantage.

178* 433

A Change in the Political Organization

The modern Cayuá have gradually shifted from aboriginal household chiefs to a single, secular officer, the *capitão*, and his adjutant, the *sargento*. The terms *capitão* and *sargento*, are today in current usage in all the Cayuá villages of which the writer has any report, and the offices do not seem very new. At least in those villages within easy range of SPI posts, the *capitão*, and usually the *sargento* as well, are not necessarily persons indicated by kinship or seniority, or selected by their own people for these offices. Rather they are individuals who are judged suitable by the *encarregado* who has jurisdiction over the village. Often the *encarregado* will attempt to name men preferred by, or at least acceptable to, the largest number of Indians, but this does not always follow. Occasionally a man is selected merely because he will do the bidding of the *encarregado*—or of the local settlers, in the case of a village too far away from the post to be immediately answerable to the *encarregado*. (It is even more certain, conversely, that the *encarregado* will reject any individual he suspects of hostility.) The present mode of selection often provides a man who finds no favor in the eyes of the majority of the people. One such fellow was *capitão* when we first arrived at Taquapiri and continued in office for a short time afterwards. He was a ruffian, said to have murdered a former wife of his (for witchcraft), and was not a native of Taquapiri, nor was his present wife even a Cayuá but a "Guarani." His tenure dissolved in a drunken fracas in which bruises and cuts were sustained by himself and members of both principal factions, the incumbent's and that of most of the rest of the village.[184]

177* 178* 624

With the dissolution of the extended family, much of the opportunity of the former household chiefs directly to exercise power withered away. The

[183] A theoretical case might even be argued for the contrary, that competition as a goal is *less* now than aboriginally. It could be pointed out, e. g., that warfare, which was probably quite important, no longer exists, and this activity may well have been a somewhat competitive one. [724]

[184] The neighboring settlers were much concerned about the demission of this *capitão* from office since he had "cooperated" well with them, principally in the matter of obtaining Indian peons for *chaco* when they were desired. [648]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 622 648 Jesuit writings and, indeed, some of the earliest chronicles we have create the impression of a central political figure of some prominence among the indigenes. The prominence of this political officer, whom the whites usually called *capitão* or *cacique*, may well have been limited at first largely to dealings with Europeans—at least among Tupi-Guarani peoples.[179] It was naturally more convenient for the whites to deal directly with a single individual in authority. As contacts with whites began to bulk larger in the lives of the Indians, centralization of authority in external relations probably became stronger and more important—even extending to internal matters of the indigenous group.

[657] The SPI came into being very late in the process, 1910. Apparently they largely took over pre-existing white political usages concerning relations with the Cayuá. At any rate, the nomination (or at least approval) of a *capitão* and his adjutant *sargento* (both of these terms occur in the earlier literature), seems now to be a standard practice of the SPI as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

*177 182 622 721 It is not clear just what was the political influence of the fact (I. a.) that the Cayuá were increasingly and finally guaranteed freedom from fear of hostile attack. There is little doubt that the political officer(s) of the aboriginal Cayuá must have been concerned at least somewhat with war. The lessened importance of war activity may, in theory, have produced a tendency toward a less centralized and weaker political authority. But any such tendency was offset in another direction by the necessity of dealing with the whites, and ultimately with the SPI. What resulted, therefore, was not really a question of a less or more centralized polity than aboriginally but a polity in which authority came to be of a different quality. Political authority came to be exercised less and less in matters of war, and finally not at all—as at present. The new political province included relations with whites and, in general, concerned the disposition to be made of questions of external relations. Such a change in administrative function presumably made the political office(s) quite different from the aboriginal prototypes and may also have resulted in a different quality of personnel. (Differences of degree of individual acculturation along age-grade lines might, for example, bring young men to the fore, if they could speak the European tongue, in order to better treat with the whites.)

*177 182 756 622 The suggestion is occasionally encountered in the literature that shamans (*paje*) were sometimes men of considerable civil authority. Assuming that immediate direction of war activities was not aboriginally within the province of the shaman, the lessening importance of war activities might leave shamans more than ever in control of the field of political operations. At the same time, as we have suggested, the field of political operations probably became more important and its administration more centralized. All of this, of course, is well within the realm of speculation, but it does seem attractive as a possibil-

[179] *Vid.* Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 216 *et passim*. "Nowhere (in non-Andean South America) do real tribal chieftains appear to exist; in war, allied settlements choose a war chieftain."

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

We may assume with relative certainty that white contact with the Cayuá was sometimes far from favorable to the latter, an impression confirmed in an article by von Ihering in 1911.[16] He writes that there had been organized Indian hunts by Brazilians within the state of São Paulo, and presumably elsewhere, to avenge Indian attacks against Brazilian lives and property. Sometimes those hunts were led by professional Indian hunters or *"bugreiros"* (from *bugre*, a depreciative term for Indians) who prided themselves on their prowess, skill, and exploits in these undertakings. Nor did these Indian hunters always take the necessary pains to distinguish between agressive and warlike Indians, on the one hand, and peaceful and often timid groups, on the other, among the latter of which the Cayuá were doubtless to be included. Such attacks, actual or threatened, may have played a part in the withdrawal of Cayuá frontiers toward the south and west.

The westward movement of Brazilian population, first in connection with coffee cultivation and later with cotton cultivation and cattle raising, and the northward pressure of Paraguayans and Argentinians working and exploring the mate groves undoubtedly had their effect upon the Cayuá, who still in von Koenigswald's day were doing their best to avoid the white settlers, just as they may have formerly avoided the Jesuits and their mortal enemies on the north, the Guaycurú, and other Indians. According to von Koenigswald, the very way of life of the Cayuá was one of avoidance, and it is for this reason, he says, that, although they have been more or less on the frontiers of civilization for several hundred years, they are little known and little has been written about them.[17]

Official Limitation of Cayuá Territories

Within the memory of living Cayuá in Taquapiry, an area was surveyed and established as a *reserva* (government reservation) for

[16] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A questão dos Indios no Brasil," *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII (1911, São Paulo), pp. 112-140.

[17] It is with certain justice that Radin has referred to the Tupi-Guarani peoples as "wanderers and eluders". The Cayuá, to judge from opinions expressed in the literature, were apparently no exception. Metraux has suggested that this tendency to elusiveness and avoidance on the part of the Tupi-Guarani peoples is the main reason for their great migrations in this post-Columbian period.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture.

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presumably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only negative in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites.

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[25] basing his statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[26] states that at the time of his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von

[25] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.
[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

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on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion; the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

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177 181 169 there two or three times with their children and wives, through here in front of this city, by a river which would be two leagues from here, which goes to the city of the Plata, and near the river the Indians from here are settled and more throughout the cordillera, and they say that they are not a hundred leagues from here.

"Also these carios have gone there to the sierras and come by another river, which is up to forty leagues from here, this lower Paraguay, which is called the Ypití; and thus likewise carios villages are there in the sierras, near this said river, which goes, according to what those who come from Peru say, to near the city of the Plata." /Translated from the Spanish./

169 177 799 /304/ The migration of the Guarani toward the west goes on today in a not very apparent form but with a certain regularity. It is probable that the secularization of the Franciscan missions, which will bring in its wake the impoverishment of the Indians and will render their fate more miserable in their present homeland, will have the result of accelerating this exodus.

174 169 Were there no other motives than the desire to pillage or trade which might formerly have led the Guarani to the land of metal?

Apparently not. But every ethnic phenomenon is complex in its causes and effects, and trying to explain it by one single factor is an attempt always superficial and subject to caution. The work of the historian, like that of the ethnographer, is to separate all the elements which have combined to produce the facts which traditions and chronicles record.

● [172] Granted that the Guarani migration had as its direct cause the taste for pillage, the singular attraction which Peru exerted on the Indians of the forests; but was there not also some obscure belief, some mystic aspiration which might have played its role in this great collective adventure? Along with the definite ambition to conquer was there not mixed the memory of some old myth which might have contributed to launching this movement? I think so.

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173 /308 cont./
173 Jesuit, author of this letter, tells us that Candire is their god.
175 Actually, even today, Candir has a place among the culture
GU gods or great gods of the Guarayú. In a fragment of Guarayú
[176] mythology published by Cardús (p. 76) Candir appears at the
[173] beginning of the world in the company of Mbiracucha (Viracocha), Zaguaguayu, Abaangui, and Tamoi. The creation of the Negroes is attributed to Candir.

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177 There is nothing extraordinary in seeing the Inca decked out
173 with the name of a Guarani god or culture hero. Confusion must have been produced there analogous to that provoked nearly everywhere in South America by the arrival of the white men. As we know, the latter have almost always been merged with the culture heroes. In the same way that the Tupinamba and Guarani saw in the first Spanish or Portuguese the descendants of the culture god or hero, it is possible that the ancient Guarani pictured Peru as the mysterious region to which the Great Ancestor had withdrawn; and in the sovereign of that empire they doubtless believed they recognized the culture hero himself, Candire.

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167 All those who know the Indians of tropical America from
174 having seen them will have no difficulty in picturing these migrations of the Guarani toward the Andes.

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[172] When an enterprising chief with his "soldiers" succeeded in crossing the Chaco and making some fruitful raid among the Chané, nothing else was needed for the news to spread from mouth to mouth upon their return and arouse everywhere the de-
G sire to imitate him and the hope of similar gains. In each
174 village the affair was discussed, the chiefs talked in the even-
167 ing around the fire or at the time of the great collective drink-
172 ing bouts, and the young men dreamed of obtaining, in their
[177] turn, silver ornaments, bronze axes, and the long woolen shirts in which those who had come back from the land of the Candir dressed. Here and there people decided to leave in the good season to try their luck. The inhabitants of several villages took counsel together to set the date of departure and they prepared for it slowly. The women busied themselves with the provisions, roasted corn and made flour of it or grated manioc which they transformed into cassava bread. Others prepared corn beer for the feast which would precede the departure.

/309/

174 Contingents from several neighboring villages combined,
167 probably in order to face together the perils of the road (1).
●721

1. In the course of the survey he conducted on the Paraguay River by order of Governor Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Martínez Irala had the chance to question some Guarani near Puerto de los Reyes, one of whom gave him the following information, which throws light on the manner in which these migrations took place: "asked if there are some houses of his race ahead of them, he said that, yes, there were five or six principals; asked if they go for the metal to the sierra where they extract it, he said that they are not accustomed to go there because they are few and have enemies nearby, but those of the last houses go sometimes and he went there once; asked how much time it takes from here to where the metal is, he said that it takes five moons; asked with whom he went for the said metal, he said that in the past many principals from paguay and Indians from the port that they call ytatyn came, and, passing through a land called ytapua, which is a four-day trip from the last houses of his race, those of the said house going in search of said metal, they met on the way and went together and came to a house of Indian slaves, enemies of theirs, and that from there they returned with all their men and also some of those from ytatyn, and the others went on, and I have heard it said that they took the said five moons to get to where the said metal was ..." /translated from the Spanish/ (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 349-350).

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If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in these migrations a national movement carried out according to a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand, while several girls followed behind with baskets full of provisions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one; it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/ sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at the small ponds encountered on the way.

1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

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174 167 72 241 Sometimes too they stayed several months in a spot which appeared fertile in order to sow manioc and corn, waiting for it to grow before continuing the march. García, in thecourse of his long expedition, had left five of his men with a tribe so that they could provide for the feeding of his band on his return (2).

2. Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 348: "asked how many days it seems to him that they might count on to get here by the route of the said Garcia, he said that he does not know, but that it seems to him that he would know the land and that the route is very wide and big; asked if there were food on that route he said yes, and that much of the food that they have is mandioca, and corn, and gourds, and manduuis, and that said Garcia left five of his slaves along the route with a certain race, in order that they might have food for him when he returned;" /translated from the Spanish/.

167 174 72 484 The going was slow, for it was necessary to clear a path in the thicket; and this job, difficult for white men armed with machetes, must have been even more so for the Indians in pre-Hispanic times. With their stone axes, their clubs, and fire, if there was no danger in lighting one, they opened up a path which the rear guard and other expeditions followed. Besides, 142 481 the Guarani, accustomed from childhood to life in the great woods, certainly had that astonishing litheness which allows their descendants to slip into the thickest copses, avoiding branches and thorns (3).

3. Hernández, p. 300: "He said (a Guarani is speaking) that he went over that route a long time ago, and when those of his race would pass through, they went along opening the route and cutting trees and clearing the land, which was very brambly, and that it seems to him that

1: Métraux--25 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano
Guarani SM4

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167 184 172 [484]

those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats did not take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

167 174 175 127 None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish conquest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

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/311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity ... they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

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Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 241): "The Spanish, taking with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such a degree that some Indians died ... they returned eating wild thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

"Aracare ... ordered them (the Guarani who were accompanying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that against the custom and discipline observed by those who make expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guarani from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching the place where the metal was, and he added that the ones from Itatin who lived more than a hundred leagues lower asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them they stayed in one place three months and that this was why it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

G 175 167 721 C 167

Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the Guarani, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody sacrifices all the expeditions risking it must have made. I shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migration made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Taruirí of Caipipendí. Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned

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Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

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Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

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Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

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The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land.

1: Métraux--32 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
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Inca SE13

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they caused great destruction, robberies, and deaths.

"This news went to Guayna Capac in Quito, who received it with great sorrow and immediately sent a captain of his, named Yasca, to Cuzco to form an army, and with it he was to go to wage war on the Chiriguanaes. The captain left for Cuzco, taking with him the guacas /huacas/, Catiquilla of Caxamarca and Guamachuco and Curichaculla of the Chachapoyas and the guaca Tomayrica and Chinchaycoaha with many of the guacas' own men. And he arrived in Cuzco where he was very well received by the governors named Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inga, and, forming his army, he left Cuzco for the Charcas. And on the way he took many troops from Collao, with which he came to the Chiriguanaes and waged cruel war and took some of them prisoner, whom he sent as specimens to Guayna Capac in Quito, so that he might see the strangeness of that people. And Captain Yasca rebuilt the fortresses which were there, and, putting in them the necessary garrison, he returned to Cuzco, where he dismissed the troops, and each one went back to his land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Santa Cruz Pachacuti, p. 304: "And at this time (of the Inca Huayna-capac) there came the news that the Cheriguanaes had come forth to take the lands of the ynga, which news upset the ynga, and so he sent the most experienced captains for the conquest of the Chiriguanaes, with 20,000 Chinchaysuyo men." /Translated from the Spanish./

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Balboa, p. 105: "But this fiesta was interrupted by the news from Cusco that the Chiriguanes, a cruel and brave people, had killed the garrisons of the frontiers and leveled the whole country as far as Chuquisaca and its surroundings. Guayna-Cápac was disturbed by this news, disguised his grief as much as he could, and called to command his army a man full of bravery and intrepidity, named Yasca, whom he ordered to punish this aggression. Yasca departed from Tumibamba at the head of the best of the ingas soldiers; moreover, he had orders to recruit from Caxamarca on all the men that he found, in order to wage the war which he was going to undertake; and in order to arouse their valor he ordered each nation to bring with it the great Guaca of its country, which is an idol besides, and to which they very frequently come. He arrived at Cusco with a large army made up of different nations; through all parts the governors welcomed him with affection and gave him great honors. Provided with everything that he might need and his army augmented with the best men from Collao, he continued on his way with the utmost speed in pursuit of the Chirihuanas; many battles were joined, without any victory declared by either of the two armies. Nevertheless Yasca took some prisoners, whom he sent to Quito. He repaired the damage that the enemies had done in the country, and he left a new garrison in the fortresses and on the frontiers; afterward he returned to Cusco, where the governors rewarded the soldiers who had distinguished themselves and permitted them to return to their countries, taking their Guacas, or idols." /Translated from the Spanish./

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Cieza de Leon, p. 228: "(Guayna Capac) sent captains with troops of war to the Chiriguanaes; but things did not go well for them,

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for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

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/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

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The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

/316 cont./ decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la Sierra."

In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migration which does not appear to have any relation to that of García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer, with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood. The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian, married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race, had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/ knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani, originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River; that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

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000 there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of
G the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he
175 added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but
167 doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked
[172] whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was
G asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes
[172] he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

G Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent
175 character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of
648 Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-
[167] 281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of
G trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention
114 of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the
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1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

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they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these